

Constitution that will then be sent out to the people to vote on. Absent that, I do not know how this works.

The Sunnis need a piece of the action, to stay in the action.

My friend, the chairman, understands that there are three things going on. One, they are so-called insurgents. They are basically the old Saddamists. They are the Baathist Party, they are former military, and they are the Republican Guard.

As I said to the President, who asked the question after my first trip from Iraq—he said: We have taken care of—I don't want to put words in his mouth—he said it was a great victory. And it was a great victory. I said: But Mr. President, 400,000 people went home with their guns. I said: Count the bodybags. We had such a blitzkrieg success; what happened? They didn't resist. They took off their uniforms, kept their guns, and raided the 800,000 tons of ammunition dumps we didn't guard. That is the insurgency—not bunch of dead-enders, as the Secretary of Defense said some time ago, and they are getting increasingly organized.

There is a second group. The second group is the Zarqawi guys. They are the guys who are the jihadists—mostly from out of the country. As my friends, the chairman and ranking member, know, the military has never estimated them to make up more than 5 percent to 8 percent of the entire insurgency. They do bad things, but they are a separate group, coordinating with but separate, with separate agendas, from the insurgents.

There is a third group. The real problem is civil war. Insurgency is not the big problem. It is a problem. The problem is sectarian violence with Sunnis killing Kurds, Kurds executing Shiites, and Shiites mostly eliminating Sunnis. Unless you stop that, what is the deal? I hope I am wrong, but as I say, take a look at my record on this for the last 3 years and tell me. Am I wrong a lot of times? I haven't guessed this one very wrong very many times.

Ask the following question: By December of 2007, we are going to have a drastic withdrawal of American forces for one of two reasons: either because we actually have things going in Iraq, the Iraqis have not only stood but stood together, dealt with the Sunnis, dealt with the militia and kept the neighbors out, which means we will be able to draw forces home, or we are going to be in a full-blown civil war.

I will make a prediction. This is a dangerous thing to do on the floor, and I pray to God I am wrong about it. I think there is at least an even chance that you will hear the following debate among the foreign policy intellectuals on the left and on the right a year from now. You have to let them fight it out in a civil war. It has to be decided in a civil war; nothing we can do about it. Let the chips fall where they may, and we come back in and try to pick up the pieces. That may be the ultimate strategy we have to deal with.

But to my friends who say get out at a time certain, I say I understand your frustration, but what do you do afterward? What do you do if things go to hell in a hand basket quickly and there is civil war that turns into a regional war? What is your plan?

The Levin amendment lays out a plan. It says take care of the insurgency by giving the Sunnis a piece of the action so they turn on the insurgents. They have a reason to want to be a part of the deal.

I thank the Chair.

I have a more detailed plan as to how we should proceed. But don't confuse the Levin plan by ruling it out. The Levin plan lays out what must be done, how to do it, and it is done on the path by which we can leave and leave our interests intact.

I thank the Chair. I thank my colleagues for allowing me a few minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oklahoma is recognized.

Mr. INHOFE. Mr. President, first of all, let me say that I did want to get in there when the Senator from New Jersey was speaking.

They keep talking about 8 generals out there—8 generals out of 4,000 generals who are retired right now. Three of the eight generals who had their own political plans were using that. I have listened to that over and over again.

I have just returned from my 11th trip. I say that to my friend from Delaware, to the Iraqi AOR. The reason I have done this is so I can watch the progress that is being made—and I see the progress.

When the Senator from New Jersey stood up saying nothing has happened, consider the fact that we now have three successful elections behind us. Before each election, the Democrats on this floor said it is not going to work, they will not have a free election, it isn't going to be successful. We now have had three. I was over there. I went over the day the Ministers were ratified, and they are in there.

There are 164,000 trained and equipped troops. I think it is really bad, particularly when it is in error, for us to stand here on the floor of this Senate and say that those troops are really not trained and equipped, that they are really not serviceable for war. I have heard all kinds of things which are a great disservice to these people. I was up there in Fallujah during the last election when these Iraqi security forces were risking their lives going into town to vote.

Anyway, I went over there the other day, the day Zarqawi was killed, and I thank God that happened. It happened to be the same day that the 4 Ministers out of some 30 Ministers were confirmed. I can remember talking to them on a one-to-one basis.

Dr. al-Rubaie, the National Security Adviser for the Iraqis, is really a quality guy. I spent several hours talking to him. He projects that the number of troops in Iraq will drop below 100,000 by the end of this year. This is kind of in-

teresting. Here we are trying to dictate terms as to when we are going to pull out when they already know when they are going to request and make a recommendation to us to pull out. The other side has it completely backward. He is saying that right now; he projects, the way we are going, that they are going to make a request by the end of this year to drop the U.S. forces and the coalition down to 100,000. That would be a reduction of 30,000. Then he says that by the end of the following year, they should be all the way out.

Dr. al-Rubaie has made it clear that a timetable has to be on Iraq's terms and that there is already a roadmap. For people who say we don't know, there is no roadmap, there is no criteria out there, there is.

Let me tell you. This is a quote from Dr. al-Rubaie. This isn't me talking, this is a quote from him. He said that Iraqi governorates must meet "stringent minimum requirements as a condition of being granted control. Threat assessment of terrorist activities must be low or on a downward trend. Local police and the Iraqi army must be deemed capable of dealing with criminal gangs, armed groups and militia, and border control. There must be a clear and functioning command-and-control center overseen by the governor." He said, and this is his quote, that "13 of the 18 provinces"—18 in Iraq, and 13—"have met" or are close to meeting this criteria already.

One thing which has bothered me most recently is the inconsistency I have observed over time in the Democrats' position. They claim to disagree with the war in Iraq for the very same reasons that they used for supporting going into Bosnia and Kosovo. I remember them standing on this Senate floor saying that we have no reason to be going to Bosnia and Kosovo because we don't have any security interests at stake.

In 1995, President Clinton urged Congress to support involvement in Bosnia, and they agreed with his philosophy to "stand up for peace and freedom because it's in our interest to do so." That sounded real good at the time. Now, when President Bush is doing exactly the same thing, they are saying: No. We have changed our position. We don't want to do that anymore.

Opponents of the war in Iraq contradict themselves.

Senator KERRY stated, on April 6 of this year, that "the [Iraq] insurgency grew day by day to be an insurgency that is now a low-grade civil war . . . and our troops can't resolve a civil war."

The Senator from Delaware characterized this as a civil war. This isn't a civil war. This is a war where others are going after the Iraqis. The insurgents aren't Iraqis. I don't know why people can't understand that.

Zarqawi was Jordanian, and Osama bin Laden is Saudi. There are outsiders